1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

completely exhausted or reduced to a mere trickle. The average annual rainfall over the last ten years is 29·75 in. The shore waters of Lake Pamolombe are well stocked with fish. Both districts are well wooded, with a large variety of timber trees. In the dry sandy soil where the population is unable to live for lack of water, the prevalent type is *tsuwa*. A line of foothills from Zomba to Chikala are conserved as Forest Reserves.[1]

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY[2]

The Yao are chiefly agriculturists, and in the old days were also hunters. As they live largely in tsetse-infested areas, they do not keep cattle, except for a few herds near Fort Johnston and Zomba, in Nyasaland, and on the east of Lake Nyasa,[3] in the mountains of the Ruvuma valley around Mataka's.[4]

Abdullah describes a time when the Yao were economically self-sufficient, making their own bark-cloth, weaving, burning herbs for salt, and working iron for the tools they needed. Nevertheless, the tradition of coastward journeys for trading with the Arabs was well developed before the Europeans came to the country. They used to trade cattle and salt from the Manganja and Lomwe for tobacco and hoes, and in exchange for slaves they got from the Arabs gunpowder, guns, swords, beads, coloured cloths, earthenware, and foodstuffs.[5] Slaving expeditions were among the most important activities of the chiefs.[6] The old tradition of the absence of the men from the village owing to these expeditions, is continued in modern times by soldiers and labour migrants to Southern Rhodesia and the Union. These men send back remittances to the area, but the main population is supported by agriculture. Cash is needed for purchasing salt and cloth, for paying certain dues and fines formerly paid in kind—adultery compensation, diviner's and initiation fees—as well as for tax and rent. Consequently, while certain crops, such as tobacco and ground-nuts, are grown for cash, any food crop is liable to be sold in one form or another in local markets or by the roadside.

The food crops are maize, sorghum, finger millet, sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, legumes. Fish is an important article of diet. Eggs are believed to cause sterility and are only eaten by those outside the child-propagating age; milk is disliked and never consumed.[7] *Termite alates* (flying ants) are a much relished food when they come out on nuptial flights. Rice is considered a superior food, and is eaten when possible on ritual occasions.[8]

Tobacco is the main cash crop, with individual production under the supervision of the Agricultural Department. The average cash earned per grower in 1943–4 was £5. 3*s*. This is overwhelmingly an external trade. Ground-nuts, which are sold at government-controlled markets to licensed buyers, bring in only a few shillings a year to the average seller. Women obtain cash by selling beer. At the lake shore the fishing industry is very important. Natives owning big nets are said to make between £20

[1] Murray, 1932, pp. 147–61.

[2] Unless otherwise stated, the information is from J. C. Mitchell, and relates to the Yao of south Nyasaland.

[3] Young, E., 1877, p. 102.

[4] Livingstone, 1874, pp. 72 and 80.

[5] Abdullah, 1919, pp. 10–11, 26–30.

[6] See Livingstone, 1874, p. 68; Young, E., 1877, p. 139; Thompson, 1882, p. 78; Schuler, 1893, p. 422; Maugham, 2, 1929, pp. 86–7; Laws, 1934, pp. 35–7.

[7] Bannon, 4, 1922, p. 34.

[8] Barker, 1934, p. 14.

APPENDIX A

ECONOMIC DATA

AMOUNT AND VALUE OF TOBACCO BOUGHT IN JALASI–KAWINGA AREAS 1943–49

249
433
435

Year	Growers	Amount in lbs.	Cash Value £	Av. Price per Grower (pence per lb.)	Lbs. per Grower	Cash per Grower £ s. d.
1942/3	1055	393,964	6695	4·08	373	6 6 9
1943/4	2106	465,477	7044	3·02	221	4 0 0
1944/5	1792	464,929	8025	4·15	259	4 8 5
1945/6	1246	269,212	3067	2·84	216	2 9 3
1946/7	1074	127,237	6471	12·41	119	6 0 6
1947/8	918	116,590	4020	8·28	127	4 7 5
1948/9	1570	132,832	5035	9·18	85	3 4 3
1948/9	1315	171,865	5206	9·60	130	4 0 0

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE BOUGHT IN KAWINGA–JALASI AREAS AT NAMWERA, LIWONDE, MLOMBA, NTAJA, NYAMBI, AND MASUKU MARKETS. AVERAGE FOR THE YEARS 1945–47 INCLUSIVE

241
433
435

(in 1000 lb.)

Year	Maize	Groundnuts	Rice	Beans
1945	23·6	1395	94·0	31·0
1946	101·4	1268	60·4	34·6
1947	nil	1465	122·8	2·8
Total	125·0	4128	277·2	68·4
Average	41·6	1376·1	92·4	22·8

LIVESTOCK CENSUS IN KAWINGA–JALASI AREAS, 1947
(Jalasi, Kawinga, Liwonde and Nyambi, and Malemia areas)

231

Goats	Sheep	Pigs	Cattle
4319	2498	4	225*

* Most of these are owned by White settlers.

3:Stanaus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

and the baskets and pots. A wooden dish *ndini* may be seen occasionally, but of late years, this has been generally replaced by enamelled articles.

Around the entire hut, or simply enclosing a yard behind it, there is often a fence about five feet high. In the enclosure thus formed, many household duties are performed, such as the pounding and sifting of grain. The grain store *nguluwo* often stands in this yard with the pigeon-loft and possibly a hen-house or goat kraal; these are sometimes found in the open space at the front of the house. If a grain store is built within the hut itself, it is then known as *mbanga*. Near the pigeon-loft will be seen a pole with prongs supporting an old pot with water for the pigeons to drink. In a tree in the bush nearby, there may stand a beehive, consisting of a bark cylinder. Similar cylinders are sometimes used as pigeon-houses.

The large pots for brewing beer are usually set in the yard or on the back verandah, together with a basket of split bamboo for carrying fowls, *chitintola* (Yao and Chin.).

Gourds. Gourds are grown in the village for use as vessels of various kinds. Different shapes serve different purposes; names are given them according to use rather than shape, though there more or less coincide. Ladles for water or beer, *mwenalo* or *ngwo* (*nawaro* or *chibo*, Chin.) are usually long-handled gourds (Pl. XIV, figs. 7, 8, 9). Drinking vessels for beer, etc. *chipanda* and a specially large one, *mbumba* are usually of the shape illustrated in Plate XIV, fig. 1; sometimes they are like fig. 5, but this shape is more commonly used for water. *Lipanka*, the type illustrated by fig. 2, is also used for drinking or for holding gruel. Oil flasks, *chinani* (*inapa*, Chin.), are usually of the double-bellied type (figs. 4 and 6). Salt bottles, *chitumby* (*chipuru*, Chin.), are similar to oil flasks. Rattles, *nenje*, used at dances etc., are also made from gourds, often from those with tuberosities (fig 3). Other uses for gourds include pipes, snuff-boxes, enema funnels, and resonators for musical instruments.

Pottery. The art of pot-making appears to have been known to the Yao for a very considerable period. There is no history relating to its introduction among them. The art is in the hands of the Yao women. As among all Nyasaland tribes, a particular kind of clay is used and no admixture with any binding substance is made. The pots are simply moulded by hand from base to brim and, without the aid of any wheel or other device, wonderful symmetry is attained.

After drying, the pots are fired by being set on their bases on the ground and a wood fire is made round and above them. They are then sprinkled with an infusion of the *nguluguo* or *mtundi* tree, a head of millet being used for the purpose, after which the pots are set upon a fire and millet husks are thrown into them and allowed so to be incinerated. These customs, a kind of christening of the pots, "insure their turning out well."

No glaze of any kind is used, but they are sometimes coloured red by boiling with a pigment called *nguwo*, prepared from a red sediment found in sluggish streams. The preparation of *nguwo* is in the hands of men and women who make a trade of it, such as a man called

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

Both before and after the introduction of guns, the Yao used spears, *lipanga*, and bows, *uhanja*. The spear is a five foot long throwing spear with metal head and wooden shaft. No shield was used. Bows and arrows are made from the wood of the *tano* or *pimbinguitree*. The string is made of tendon. A double-bellied bow called *uhanja wa mbawa* was sometimes used, but, I believe, originally came from the Anyanja. The arrows, *mpondo*, have a metal arrow-head, and were often poisoned with *kombe*. 411

Hunting. The same weapons are used in hunting: the gun, the spear, and the bow and arrow. Smaller bows and arrows made with bamboo or reed shaft are also employed for shooting birds; one of the arrows has a blunt wooden head and serves to stun the bird. 224 411

From the Anyanja, the Yao learned the use of a harpoon for spearing the hippopotamus. The harpoon is a heavy spear-head of iron about eighteen inches long, attached to a rope and float. From the Anyanja, also, was learned the use of the falling block with spear for killing hippo. [177]

Elephants are caught in staked pits, and the larger antelopes are similarly trapped in pits with the sides sloping inwards towards the bottom, so that as the animal falls lower and lower with exhaustion, it is eventually suffocated. 224

Small buck are driven by dogs into nets set for long distances in the forest, and then speared or shot. Traps are also set for these smaller antelope and for many other small animals, rodents, etc. Birds are shot or trapped. Bird-lime is also employed. It is prepared from the juices of a number of trees by pounding the vegetable matter in water; the sticky mass so made is applied to sticks or poles. The sticks are placed near drinking places so that the birds alighting to take water become entangled. The poles are affixed to trees so that they appear to be the topmost boughs; this the native does, recognising the common habit of birds to sit on the very top of trees. The strength of the bird-lime is made according to the size of the bird he wishes to catch. [231] 223

Fishing. I am not sure how far the Yao is a natural fisherman. Not long ago he used only a many-pronged spear to catch his fish. Since then, he has acquired from the Anyanja the knowledge of making fish-traps and nets, and of using the fish poison. When the Yao came to live and intermarry among the Anyanja, there was one practice of the latter which they would not adopt and which caused a good deal of ill-feeling. A Mang'anja man coming home after fishing always used to prepare the fish and, having some ready to cook, he cooked others for his wife, bringing her water at the same time to wash her hands. After eating her own fish, she cooked the rest for her husband. A Yao would never cook for his wife. 226 [578 568]

Traps. The following is a list of some of the traps I have found in use among the Yao. The sketches will serve to explain their mechanism better than a lengthy description. Some are very ingeniously made, and most recall similar traps made in other parts of the world. 224

1. *Lukunji lwa litunulo*, a trap for the cane-rat (Pl. XIX, fig. 1).

2. *Lukunji lwa mbindi*, a trap for sharp-toothed gnawing animals, so called from